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'I sauh a tour on a toft, tryelyche i-maket', part two:
on Place-Names in *-toft* in England

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The place-name element *-toft* has received only marginal treatment in the British Isles. Apart from Bengt Holmberg's thesis and the present writer's overview of the Scottish *toft* place-name material,¹ this group of place-names has been the focus of very little research, despite the fact that the element may be used to throw new light on the complex linguistic situation in Viking Age and post-Conquest England.

The place-name element *toft* is ultimately of Scandinavian origin, having been transferred into the languages and onomastica of England and Scotland through either Old Danish (ODa) *toft*, f., or Old Norse (ON) *topt*, f. I shall not elaborate further on the origin of this place-name element, as this has already been dealt with in my above-mentioned article on the subject. As a place-name element of Scandinavian origin, *toft* is part of the large body of Viking Age place-names which include such prominent and well-researched Scandinavian place-name elements as *bý*, *þorp* and *þveit*. One complicating factor in the study of the place-name element *toft* is the early borrowing of *toft* into English. It occurs as an appellative as early as 1001 in English in the phrase *healf þæt land æt suðham innur and uttur on tofte and on crofte* ('half the land at Southam, including homestead as well as land'),² and even earlier as a place-name element in a document from 963: *and healf hide on hibaldes tofte* ('and half a hide on Hibald's toft').³ These two examples show that

¹ B. Holmberg, *Tomt och Toft som Appellativ och Ortsnamnselement*, Studier till en svensk ortnamnsatlas, 4 (Uppsala and Copenhagen, 1946); P. Gammeltoft, 'I sauh a tour on a toft, tryelyche i-maket': on place-names in *-toft*, *-tote* and *-tobhta* from Shetland to the Isle of Man', *Nomina*, 24 (2001), 17–32.

² J. M. Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici*, 6 vols (London, 1839–48), no. 705.

³ W. de G. Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, 3 vols and index (London, 1885–99), no. 1112.

toft was not only borrowed into English already during the Old English (OE) period but also functioned as a fully fledged constituent of the English language, be it on an appellative or an onomastic level. That we are most probably dealing with an English and not a Norse formation is accentuated in the 963 entry where the specific of the place-name *hibaldes tofte* is the Old English personal name *Hygbald*, m., although the theoretical possibility exists that *hibaldes tofte* could have been coined by Scandinavian speakers. However, the presence of an English personal name in a place-name with a generic of ultimately Scandinavian origin as early as 963 must mean that by then *toft* was fully accepted as a place-name element in the local language community.

As the above examples have shown, ON *toft*, f., is one of the earliest known Scandinavian words and place-name elements to be borrowed into English. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the core meaning of *toft* in English is that of 'a homestead, the site of a house and its out-buildings'.⁴ Sometimes *toft* may also signify 'a settlement site and its accompanying land', a connotation stressed through the often used legal phrase *toft and croft*. A third, and a somewhat extended connotation of *toft*, is that of 'a knoll or hillock, especially one suitable for settlement'. A prime example of this latter meaning is found in the *Piers Plowman* quotation which forms part of the title of this article: *I sauh a Tour on a Toft—tryelyche i-maket; a Deop Dale bi-neoþe* ('I saw a tower on a hillock, very well-built; a deep valley below').

The denotative signification, however, does not seem to be a complete one-to-one relationship to the appellative connotation of *toft*. In Denmark, *toft* has been used to coin habitative names as well as field-names. Although the denotational gap between that of 'a settlement' and that of 'a field' appears wide, it seems to have its roots in the original denotation of 'a site for settlement'. This denotation carries considerable elasticity because the 'site' itself must necessarily have included the settlement plot as well as some amount of accompanying land.⁵

The potential for this two-fold denotation seems to stretch back into the Viking Age, as this denotational span is found not only in

⁴ *Oxford English Dictionary*, edited by J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1989), s.v. *toft*¹.

⁵ Cf. *Danmarks stednavne*, vol. 17.2,2 (Copenhagen, 1984), xxxix–xl.

Scandinavia, but is also extremely common with *toft*-names in England. How wide this denotational span has appeared in the naming situation, or whether it has been apparent to the namer at all, is impossible to say. What is apparent, though, is the seeming overlapping of naming motives of the two denotations to such an extent that there is no discernible difference between them. Typologically speaking, there is no way of telling the difference between, say, the Northamptonshire parish name of Sibbertoft (1086 *Sibertod*, 11th c. *Sibbertoft*) and the field name of Grimboldstoft (1246 *Grimboldstoft*), as either name is specified by a personal name, namely ON *Sigbjörn*, m., or OE *Sigebeorth*, m., and Continental Germanic (ContGerm) *Grimbeald*, m.⁶ In the same way, the Old Norse appellative *búr*, n., 'a storage house', may equally well be applied to a settlement, such as the hamlet of Burtoft in Wigtoft, Lincolnshire (1086 *Burtoft*), or to a field, as in the case of Burtofts in Yorkshire (1196 *Burtofts*) and Burtofts in Leicestershire (1703 *Burtofts*). In other words, it is impossible to tell whether a place-name in *-toft* is an original settlement name or an original field-name.

As I mentioned at the beginning, *toft* has only rarely been focused on in English place-name studies. In fact, the only relatively detailed study so far is the above-mentioned Bengt Holmberg's *Tomt och Toft som Appellativ och Ortsnamnselement* from 1946. In this work, he lists 162 names containing *toft* in England, the majority of which he has taken from Harald Lindkvist's *Middle English Place-Names of Scandinavian Origin* from 1912.⁷ My own compilation of English *toft*-names has so far tallied some 282 place-names. Place-names in *-toft* are scattered over the areas of Viking Age Scandinavian settlement, i.e. all of eastern and northern England, including a slight drizzle of *toft*-names into Gloucestershire. The greatest concentrations of names in this material are to be found in Cambridgeshire (13), Leicestershire (30), Lincolnshire (90), Norfolk (23), Yorkshire (76) and Westmorland (12). The remaining counties have less than ten *toft*-names each. The present material has mainly been collected from printed place-name works, as detailed

⁶ See the appendix for a more detailed description of this and other *toft*-names.

⁷ H. Lindkvist, *Middle English Place-Names of Scandinavian Origin* (Uppsala, 1912), pp. 208-24.

below.⁸ The great flaw of collecting place-names from such works is that the well-researched areas also become the better-represented ones. Therefore, it is necessary to bear in mind that the number of names for each county is more or less proportional to the amount of research into the place-names of the area. Since my collection and recording of place-names in *toft* is still ongoing, the number of 282 may only be seen as a preliminary figure. Personally, I am certain that it should be possible to add an additional 50–100 names to the present material, if not more.

Far from all these *toft*-names are of Scandinavian origin; a fair number have been coined in the Middle English period. Nonetheless, a large number of names appear to have been coined during the Viking Age, if not by Scandinavians, then at least by people heavily influenced by them. For this reason, it is exceedingly difficult to establish whether a place-name in *toft* is a Scandinavian, Anglo-Scandinavian or purely English construction.

The problem of determining the language of coinage of *toft*-names is mainly owing to the success of this element as an appellative in English. From the evidence of the element's appearance in, for instance, the 1001 text, it is apparent that *toft* was one of the first everyday Scandinavian terms to be borrowed into English. This is evidenced for example in the 1001 example *on tofte*, where *toft* takes the Old English dative form in accordance with the preposition *on*. Similarly, place-names in *-toft* are often found in the Latinised form *-toftum*, as in the case of Emmetoft,

⁸ The various English Place-Name Society volumes (EPNS + volume number); K. Cameron, *A Dictionary of Lincolnshire Place-Names*, English Place-Name Society, Popular Series 1 (Nottingham, 1998) (Cameron 1998); B. Cox, 'The Place-Names of Leicestershire and Rutland' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Nottingham, 1971) (PNLeiR); G. Fellows Jensen, *Scandinavian Personal Names in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire*, Navnestudier, 7 (Copenhagen, 1968) (SPNLY); G. Fellows Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in Yorkshire*, Navnestudier, 11 (Copenhagen, 1972) (SSNY); G. Fellows Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the East Midlands*, Navnestudier, 16 (Copenhagen, 1978) (SSNEM); G. Fellows-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names in the North-West* (Copenhagen, 1985) (SSNNW); K. Hald, 'Nordiske stednavne i Lincolnshire' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Copenhagen, 1930) (Hald 1930); Holmberg, *Tomt och Toft* (Holmb.); Lindkvist, *Middle English Place-Names* (Lindkv.).

Benniworth, Lincs., which occurs in a twelfth-century document in Latin as *Emmetoftum*.⁹ The gender corresponds to that in Scandinavian, the *-um* in *Emmetoftum* being a Latin feminine accusative inflexion.¹⁰

When we encounter *toft* in place-names, a number of notable changes in comparison to the early appellative occurrences have taken place. From the Domesday Book entries and onwards the plural form of *toft* is always found with the *-es* plural form from the former Old English masculine *a*-stem nouns, as for instance in the Norfolk parish name of Toftrees which is written *Toftes* and *Totes* in Domesday Book. This change must be seen as an early example of the levelling of Old English plural declensions under the *-s* plural, a process that began in the northern parts of England. In fact, there is not a single recorded instance of a plural *toft*-place-name in England which features even remnants of the original Old Norse feminine *i*-stem *ir*-plural. This is in stark contrast to, for instance, *toft*-names in the Hebrides, such as Seilastotar and Steinatotair in the Isle of Lewis, which appear to have retained the original Old Norse plural marker. This must signify that by the time of the compilation of the Domesday Book, *toft* had been fully incorporated into the Northern English dialect and henceforth took part in the local levelling of the noun system on all linguistic levels. The consequence of this to the place-name researcher is that it is in reality impossible to distinguish a purely Scandinavian *toft*-coinage from one created within an English framework, at least on grounds of the form of the generic element of a place-name in *-toft*.

If the generic element does not offer any indications as to whether a *toft*-place-name is of Scandinavian origin or not, the specific element might instead be a safer indicator. Of the 282 place-names in *toft* which I have so far collected, 228 are original compound formations. Owing to the long productivity span of this place-name element, it goes without saying that far from all of the place-names in this material can be regarded as of Scandinavian origin. Nonetheless, I have chosen to see the material as a whole for this paper.

⁹ Emmetoft, Benniworth, Lincolnshire. Sl. 12th c. K fol. 27b *Emmetoftum*.

¹⁰ Although *-um* is also a dative plural inflection in both Old English and Old Norse, in the context of the manuscript *Emmatoftum* reflects the Latin feminine accusative form. Cf. Hald, 'Nordiske stednavne i Lincolnshire', p. 298.

The most striking feature of the material at hand is the overwhelming number of personal names, bynames or occupational designations, etc., 119 in total, or in excess of fifty per cent of the specifics in *toft*-names belong to this category. Of these, fifty-four are of Scandinavian origin whereas forty have an English source. Thirteen may be of either Scandinavian or English origin and another twelve have a French, Continental Germanic or Irish origin. In general, the *toft*-place-names that contain English and French sourced personal names should be considered to be English or Anglo-Scandinavian constructions, and only the sixty-seven names with a Scandinavian or a possible Scandinavian personal name as the specific can be considered to be possible Scandinavian coinages. But even here, it is difficult positively to determine the Scandinavian origin, as Scandinavian personal names were also subject to borrowing into Old English. Formally, the only certain Scandinavian coinage in this group is Branzthoft, in Lincolnshire (c.1150 *Branzthoft*), the specific of which is which is the Old Norse personal name *Brandr*, m., with an Old Norse -s genitive singular marker.¹¹ In some instances, such as Caletoft, Lincs.? (1268 *Caletoft* < poss. ON persn. *Kali*, m.), Gilletoft, Yorkshire (1439 *Gilletoft* < ON persn. *Gilli*, m.), Gippetoft, Lincs. (c.1242 in *Gippetoft* < ON persn. **Gippi*, m.?), Gunnetoft, Lincs. (12th–14th c. in *Gunnetoft* < ON persn. *Gunni*, m./ *Gunna*, f.), Oretoftes, Yorkshire (13th c. *Oretoftes* < prob. ON persn. *Ári*, m.), Toletoftes, Lincs. (14th c. *Toletoftes* < ON persn. *Tóli*, m.), Totetoft, Lincs. (1200 *Totetoft* < ON persn. *Tóti*, m.), etc., the medial 'e' may possibly represent the remnants of the Old Norse weak masculine genitive singular form, although it may just as well merely be a linking 'e'.¹² In the majority of cases, however, where the *toft*-name material is modified by a Scandinavian personal name or personal designation, the source forms show either a zero form, as with Renildtoft, Lincolnshire (12th–14th c. *Renildtoft* < ON persn. *Ragnhildr*, f.) and Sywardtoft, Lincolnshire (c.1242 in *Sywardtoft* < ON persn. *Sigvarðr*, m.), or an Old English -es genitive form, as for example Bernestoft, Yorkshire (13th c. *Bernestoft* < ON persn. *Björn*, m.) and Ermestoft, Warwickshire (1216–72 *Ermestoft* < ON persn. in *Arn*- ?), making these names

¹¹ Cf. SPNLY, p. xcix.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. c.

typologically indistinguishable from *toft* place-names compounded by an Old English personal name: compare for instance Neucumentoftes, Westmorland (13th c. *Neucumentoftes* < ME byn. *Neucumen* 'a newly arrived stranger'), Edmundtoft, Yorkshire (1488 *Edmundtoft* < OE persn. *Ēadmund*, m.) and Bremestoft, Norfolk (< OE persn. *Brem*, m.). Whether this means that such constructions are purely English in origin is uncertain: a fair number of these undoubtedly represent Anglicisations of original Scandinavian constructions.

The specific material which does not signal a person's association to a *toft*-locality is a mixture of Scandinavian and English word stock, an aspect which strengthens the impression that this place-name element has been much used in a bilingual or contact linguistic environment. Owing to the introductory nature of this paper, it will suffice to mention a few examples that show evidence of *toft* being used by both Scandinavian and English speaking people. For instance, the occurrence of the tree-designation *ash*, OE *æsc*, ON *askr/eski*, as in Eshetoftes, Yorkshire (1158–67 *Eshetoftes*) and Eastoft, Lincs. (c.1200 *Esketoft*), shows that Eshetoftes probably has been coined by English speakers, because of the palatalisation of Germanic [sk] to OE [ʃ] in the specific element, whereas the unpalatalised [sk] in the specific of the source form of Eastoft betrays that its origin is ON *eski*, m., 'ash-trees', a collective noun of ON *askr*, m. The two Yorkshire *Saintofts* (Saintoft, Pickering, YNR (1335 P *Centoftdikes*), Saintofts, Warter, YER (early 12th c. *Sintoftes*) seemingly contain the Old English word *sænget*, 'burnt', probably meaning 'the toft cleared by burning' or 'the toft destroyed by burning'. As such they could be a translation of an original ON **Brendatoft* (compare for instance the Faroese *Brendatoft* where the specific is derived from ON *brenna*, vb. 'to burn').¹³ In total, the present material comprises roughly ninety *toft*-names which contain ordinary word stock, of which roughly a third is of Scandinavian origin, a third of English origin (of varying periods), whereas the final third of the material contains word stock of either Scandinavian or English origin.

It is my hope that this brief overview of the English place-name material in *toft* has drawn attention to a number of interesting points and

¹³ Cf. P. Gammeltoft, 'Toften rundt-Et blik på færøske stednavne på toft', *Eyvindarmál* (Tórshavn, 2002), pp. 122 and 126.

shown the research potential for this place-name type. However brief, it is evident from the above survey that this place-name element in English cannot but be studied from a contact linguistic point of view, since *-toft* has been used by both Scandinavian and English speaking people alike. An obvious path to tread in this respect is to try and outline the transition of *toft* from being a purely Scandinavian element to becoming a fully Anglo-Scandinavian and later eastern and northern English place-name element, if at all possible. Another important aspect which needs further study is the relationship between the dual place-name function of *-toft*. Why is *-toft* used both of settlements and of fields? How old is this feature and is it comparable to that found in, for instance, Denmark? Given that this place-name material on the one hand is relatively transparent and on the other hand shows up complexities of morphology, it is evident that more work needs to be done on the use of Old English genitive markers in place-names of ultimately Scandinavian origin and on the question of the use of genitive markers in personal name + generic constructions in general. As was the case with the Scottish place-name material in *-toft*, this element has proved to be more diverse and complicated than has hitherto been realised. I hope that by discussing merely a few of the most central points I have managed to show the potential as well as potential pitfalls of the place-name element *toft*.

Appendix: Place-Names in *-toft*, f.

A. Uncompounded *toft*-names

Basiltoftes, f.n., Bottesford, Lei. 1252 (early 14th c.) BelCartA *Toftis*, 1292 (early 14th c.) BelCartA *Thoftis*, 1377 Nichols *Basiltoftes*, Lei. 1413 *Basiltoftes*. Cf. EPNS 78.26, PNLeiR 144.

Birchham Tofts, parish, Norf. 1086 DB *Stoftsta*, 1313 Cl.R. *Brechamtoftes*, 1334 Norf. Ass. *Toftes*. Cf. Lindkv. 211.

Fishtoft, parish, Lincs. 1086 DB *Toft*. Cf. Lindkv., 214 & SSNEM.148, 150. Rockland Toft of Major, All Saints and St. Andrews parish, Norf. DB 1086 *Toftes*.

Tafts Close, f.n., Stapleford, Freeby, Lei. late 13th c. (1449) *Toftis*, 1632 *Tafts Close*. Cf. EPNS 78.142.

The Toft, mansion, Sharnbrook, Beds. 1279 *Toft*, *Tofte*. Cf. EPNS 3.42.

The Tofts Close, f.n., Strathern, Lei. 1625 *The Toftes close*. Cf. EPNS 78.266-67.

- Toft (?), Beccles, Suff. Cf. Holmb., 221.
- Toft Field, f.n., Warw. 1355 *le Toft feld*. Cf. EPNS 13.333.
- Toft Flats, Scrayingham, YER. 1208 FF *Toftum quod fuit bruning*. Cf. EPNS 14.147.
- Toft Grange, Kirkby on Bain, Lincs. 1198 (1328) Ch *grangiam de Toftes*, 12th c. RevesInv *thoft*. Cf. Cameron 1998, 128.
- Toft House, Elsdon, Durh. 1397 Pat.R. *Toft*. Cf. Lindkv., 211.
- Toft Monks, parish, Norf. DB 1086 *Toft*, 1386 BM *Toft Monachorum*.
- Toft next Newton, parish, Lincs. 1086 DB *Tofte*. Cf. Cameron 1998, 128 & SSNEM.150.
- Toft with Lound, parish, Lincs. 1086 DB *Toftlund* (sic.), 1212 Fees *Toft*. Cf. Cameron 1998, 128 & SSNEM.150.
- Toft, f.n., Chatteris, Cambs. c.1240 *Toft*. Cf. EPNS 19.xxii.
- Toft, f.n., Cleckheaton, YWR. Cf. Holmb., 228.
- Toft, f.n., Dowsdale, Cambs. c.1151 *Toft*. Cf. EPNS 19.xxi.
- Toft, f.n., Elton, Hunts. Cf. EPNS 3.296.
- Toft, f.n., Grafham, Hunts. Cf. EPNS 3.296.
- Toft, f.n., Harston, Cambs. 1397 *Toft*. Cf. EPNS 19.xx.
- Toft, f.n., Houghton, Hunts. Cf. EPNS 3.296.
- Toft, f.n., Hunshelf, YWR. Cf. Holmb., 228.
- Toft, f.n., Liversedge, YWR. Cf. Holmb., 228.
- Toft, f.n., Lofthouse, YWR. Cf. Holmb., 228.
- Toft, f.n., Morley, YWR. Cf. Holmb., 228.
- Toft, f.n., Pudsey, YWR. Cf. Holmb., 228.
- Toft, f.n., Singlesole, Cambs. c.1151 *Toft*. Cf. EPNS 19.xxi.
- Toft, f.n., Stotfold, Beds. Cf. EPNS 3.296.
- Toft, f.n., Sutton, Cambs. 13th c. *le Toft*. Cf. EPNS 19.xxli.
- Toft, f.n., Thorney, Cambs. c.1151 *Toft*. Cf. EPNS 19.xxi.
- Toft, f.n., Warboys, Hunts. Cf. EPNS 3.296.
- Toft, farm, Dunchurch, Warw. 1262 Ass. *Toft*. Cf. EPNS 13.128.
- Toft, near Ipswich, Suff. 1086 DB *Toft*. Cf. Lindkv., 211.
- Toft, near Witham, Lincs. 1303 F.A. *Toft*, 1367 Cal.Inq. *Tofte juxta Witham*. Cf. Lindkv., 210.
- Toft, parish, Cambs. 1086 Inq El *Toft*, *Tofte*, 1086 DB *Toft*. Cf. EPNS 19.164.
- Toft, parish, Ches. 1210 *Tofte*. Cf. EPNS 45.81 & SSNNW.59.
- Tofte, Grainthorpe, Lincs. 13th c. A fol. 97a *Tofte*. Cf. Hald 1930, 302.
- Toft's Hill, Toft's Lane, f.ns., Strathern, Lei. 1605 *the Toftes*. Cf. EPNS 78.261.
- Toftes, Breedon on the Hill, Lei. 1288 *Le Toftes*. Cf. PNLeiR 347.

- Toftes, f.n., Bottesford, Lei. 1252 (early 14th c.) *Toftis*, 1374 (early 15th c.) *Toftes*. Cf. EPNS 78.32.
- Toftes, f.n., Duxford, Cambs. 1315 *Toftes*. Cf. EPNS 19.xx.
- Toftes, f.n., Harston, Belvoir, Lei. 1205 Fines *Toftes*. Cf. EPNS 78.13.
- Toftes, f.n., Nott. c.1250 *Le Toftes*. Cf. EPNS 17.291.
- Toftes, f.n., Oakington, Cambs. 1323 *Toftes*. Cf. EPNS 19.xxi.
- Toftes, f.n., Warw. 1350 *le Toftes*. Cf. EPNS 13.333.
- Toftes, f.n., Westmorl. 1179 *the Toftes*. Cf. EPNS 43.293.
- Toftes, f.n., Whittlesford, Cambs. 1290 *Toftes*. Cf. EPNS 19.xx.
- Toftes, f.n., YNR. 1380 *le Toftes*. Cf. EPNS 5.327.
- Toftes, vill, Wombwell, Upper Strafforth, YWR. 1086 DB *Toftes*. Cf. SSNY.89.
- Toftis, f.n., Nott. 13th c. *Toftis*. Cf. EPNS 17.291.
- Toftrees, parish, Norf. DB 1086 *Toftes*, *Totes*. Cf. Holmb., 223.
- Tofts Hill, Burstwick, YER. 1253 Ebor. *Toftis*. Cf. EPNS 14.35.
- Tofts, Carnaby, YER. 1306 Bridl. *le Toftes*. EPNS 14.87.
- Tofts, Dent, YWR. 1699 PR *Tofts*, Cf. EPNS 35.259.
- Tofts, f.n., Harby, Clawson, Hose and Harby parish, Lei. 1703 *the Tofts*. Cf. EPNS 78.98.
- Tofts, f.n., Redmile, Lei. late 1424 *le Toftes*. Cf. EPNS 78.199.
- Tofts, f.n., Strathern, Lei. 1709 *Toftes pasture*. Cf. EPNS 78.261.
- Tofts, f.n., Westmorl. 1425 *Les Toftes*. Cf. EPNS 43.67, 293.
- Tofts, f.n., Westmorl. Cf. EPNS 43.70.
- Tofts, f.n.?, Wyke, YWR. 1817 M *Tofts*. Cf. EPNS 32.34.
- Tofts, farm, Little Baddow, Esx. [1277 M. *Jordan Toft*], 1594 N. *Tuftes*. Cf. EPNS 12.235.
- Tufty Farm, Ossett, YWR. 1314 YDi *le Toftes*. Cf. EPNS 31.191.
- West Tofts, parish, Norf. DB 1086 *Stofftam*, 1199 P *toftes*, 1291 Tax. *Westtoftes*.

B. Compounded toft-names

- Acketoft, f.n., Swineshead, Lincs. 1316 Ch.R. *Acketoft*. < OE persn. *Acca*, m. or rather ON persn. *Áki*, m. Cf. Lindkv., 212 & SPNLY.353.
- Aculfetoftes, f.n., Westmorl. 1179 *Aculfetoftes*. < OE persn. *Ácwulf*, m. Cf. EPNS 43.293, 313.
- Adestanestoft, Sutterton, Lincs. 13th c. (?) Cr. fol. 127b *Adestanestoft*. < OE persn. *Ēadstān*, m. Cf. Hald 1930, 298.
- Ailburtoft, Swinstead, Lincs. 1219-20 FC I *Ailburtoft* (sic.). < OE persn. *Æthelburh*, f. Cf. Hald 1930, 298.
- Ailwintoft, Scaling, YNR. 1310 Ch.R. *Ailwintoft*. < ME persn. *Aylwine*, m.

Cf. Lindkv., 212.

Albritoftis, Swineshead, Lincs. 1316 Ch.R. *Albritoftis*. < ON persn. *Albrict*, m., or OE persn. *Ealdbeorht*, *Aldberht*, *Aldbriht*, m. Cf. Lindkv., 212.

Aletoftegate, f.n., Langton-by-Wragby, Lincs. 13th c. *Aletoftegate*. < ON persn. *Áli*, m. Cf. Lindkv., 212 & SPNLY.9.

Alfledestoft, Beds. 12th c. *Alfledestoft*. < OE persn. *Æðelflæd*, f. Cf. EPNS 3.297.

Algaretoft, f.n., Gosberton, Lincs. 1242 Li.Rec. *Algaretoft*. < ON persn. *Alfgeirr*, m. or OE persn. *Ælfgar*, m. Cf. Lindkv., 212 & SPNLY.6.

Alkeltoft, f.n., Ardsley, YWR. 1348 in *Alkeltoft*. < ON persn. *Alfketill*, m. Cf. EPNS 31.178, EPNS 37.256 & SPNLY.8.

Allan Tops, f.n., Pickering, YNR. 1204 Ch.R. *Aleinetoften*. < OF persn. *Alain*, m. Cf. EPNS 5.82.

Altofts, parish, YWR. c.1090 (1492–93) *Altoftes*, 1230 *Altoftis*. < ME *ald*, adj. 'old' or ON *alr*, 'an alder-tree'. Cf. Lindkv., 212.

Alwaldtofts†, f.n., Easingwold, YNR. 1292 Pat.R. *Alwaldtoftes*. < ON persn. *Alvaldi*, m./ON *Alfvaldr*, m. Cf. EPNS 5.25 & SPNLY.8.

Antofts, Scawton, YNR. 1193–1203 Riev. *Aldwinetoftes*, *Aldenetoftes*. < Prob. OE persn. *Aldwine*, m. Cf. EPNS 5.57.

Arnoldstoft, Middlesborough, YNR. 1086 DB *Arnodestorp*, 12th c. Whitby Ch. *Aarnaldestoftes*. < ON persn. *Arnaldr*, m. Cf. EPNS 5.161.

Asgaretoft, Steeping, Lincs. 13th c. B fol. 133b *Asgaretoft*. < ON persn. *Asgeirr*, m./ODa *Asgēr*, m. Cf. Hald 1930, 29 8.

Ash Tofts, f.n., YWR. < OE *æsc*, m., 'an ash-tree'. Cf. EPNS 37.256.

Aslactoft, f.n., Haxey, Isle of Axeholme, Lincs. 13th c. *Aslactoft*. < ON persn. *Áslákr*, m. or OE persn. *Aslac*, m. Cf. Lindkv., 174 & SPNLY.33.

Aswicktoftine†, near Pinchbeck?, Lincs. 1227 Ch.R. *Assenwatoft*. Cf. Lindkv., 212.

Ayllebrandtoft, f.n., YWR. 1380 *Ayllebrandtoft*. < ContGerm persn. *Adalbrand*, m. Cf. EPNS 37.256.

Barby Nortoft, Kilsby, Northants. 1247 Ass. *Nortoft*. < OE *norð*/ON *norðr*, adv., 'north'. Cf. EPNS 10.25.

Beaumontofts, f.n., YWR. 13th c. *Beaumontofts*. < OF persn./pn. *Beaumont*. Cf. EPNS 37.256.

Beghall Toft, f.n., YWR. 1409 *Beghall toft*. < pn. *Beghall* (cf. BIHR PR 1 22v 1390 *Robert de Beghall* of the parish of All Saints)? Cf. EPNS 37.256.

Beltoft, Belton & Manthorpe, Lincs. 1086 DB *Beltot*, 1202 Ass. *Beltoft*. < Prob. OE **bel* 'piece of dry ground in a fen'. Cf. Cameron 1998, 13.

Berberdetoft, Loftus, YNR. 13th c. Guisborough Ch. *Berberdetoft*. < Poss. OE persn. *Beorweard*, m. (?). Cf. Lindkv., 213.

- Bernestoft, f.n., Winterset, YWR. 13th c. *Bernestoft*. < ON persn. *Björn*, m. Cf. EPNS 30.263, 37.256 & SPNLY.55.
- Blacktoft, parish, YER. 1153–90 *Blaketoft*, *Blaketofte*. < OE *blæc*, adj. 'black' or ON persn. *Blakki*, m. Cf. EPNS 14.244 & SPNLY.56.
- Blakemanetoft, f.n., Clifford, YWR. 13th c. *Blakemanetoft*. < OE persn. *Blæcman*, m. Cf. EPNS 33.87.
- Blakemannis Thoft, Wigtoft?, Lincs. 1163–81 Ch.R. *Blakemannis Thoft*. < Persn. OE *Blæcman*, ME *Blacheman* m. Cf. Lindkv., 213.
- Boitoft, Habrough, Lincs. Sl. 12th c. DD *Boitoft*. < ContGerm persn. *Boia*, m. Cf. Hald 1930, 298.
- Boletoft, Swineshead, Lincs. 1316 Ch.R. *Boletoft*. < Prob. OWSc *boli*, m., 'a bull'. Cf. Lindkv., 213.
- Botildetoftes, f.n., Muston, Bottesford, Lei. 1216–72 *Botilde toftes*. < ODa persn. *Bothild*, f. Cf. EPNS 78.38.
- Brackentoft, f.n., YWR. 1365 *Brackentoft*. < ME *braken* 'bracken' (orig. < ON). Cf. EPNS 37.256.
- Branzthoft, f.n., Killingholme?, Lincs. c.1150 Br.Mus. *Branzthoft*. < ON persn. *Brandr*, m. Cf. Lindkv., 213 & SPNLY.62.
- Bratoft, parish, Lincs. 1086 DB *Breietoft*, *Breitoft*, *Bretoft*. < ON *breiðr*, adj. 'broad, wide'. Cameron 1988, 20 & SSNEM.148.
- Bremestoft, f.n., Norf. < OE persn. *Brem*, m. Cf. Lindkv., 214.
- Brid tiftes, Edenham?, Lincs. 1217 *Brid Tyftes*, 1232 *Brid Tiftes*, *Tyftes*. < OE *bridd*, m., 'a young bird'. Cf. Hald 1930, 302.
- Bridtoft, f.n., YWR. 1365 *Bridtoft*. < OE *bridd*, m., 'a young bird'. Cf. EPNS 37.256.
- Brothertoft, parish, Lincs. 1532 Li.Wills. *Brothertoft*. < ON persn. *Bróðir*, m. Cf. Cameron 1998, 21 & SPNLY.65.
- Bruntoft, Elwick Hall, Durh. 14th c. Durham Acc. R. *Bruntoft*, *Bruntoftes*, *Bromptoft*. < ON *brunnr*, m., 'a well' or poss. OE *burn*, f., 'a stream'. Cf. Lindkv., 218.
- Bruntoft, f.n., YNR. 1193–99 *Bruntoft*. < ON *brunnr*, m., 'a well' or poss. OE *burn*, f., 'a stream'. Cf. EPNS 5.331.
- Buckenham Tofts, parish, Norf. < nearby pn. *Buckenham*. Probably a simplex name?
- Bulewalestoft, Hemingstone?, Suff. 1198 Feet of Fines *Bulewalestoft*. Cf. Lindkv., 214.
- Burmantofts, Leeds, YWR. 1427 *Burmantoftes*, 1511 YD xxii.231 *Burghman Tofts*. < OE *burhman*, m., 'a townsman, burgess'. Cf. EPNS 33.126.
- Burmantofts, Wakefield, YWR. 1309 WCR *Burghmantoftes*. < OE *burhman*, m., 'a townsman, burgess'. Cf. EPNS 31.166.

- Burnmyer Toft, f.n., Westmorl. 1539 *Burnmyer toft*. < Poss. pn. *Burnmire*? Cf. EPNS 43.293.
- Burtoft, hamlet, Wigtoft, Lincs. 1086 DB *Burtoft*. < ON *búr*, n., 'storage house'. Cf. Cameron 1998, 23, for an alternative interpretation & SSNEM.148.
- Burtoft, now Burtis Wood, f.n., Kilburn, YNR. 1196 Dugd. *Burtofts*, ON *búr*, n., 'storage house'. Cf. EPNS 5.194.
- Burtofts, f.n., Harby, Clawson, Hose and Harby parish, Lei. 1703 *Burtofts*. < ON *búr*, n., 'storage house'. Cf. EPNS 78.96.
- Caletoft†, Lincs.? [1268 Ch.R. *Sir Philip de Caletoft*]. < ON *kál*, n. 'cabbage' or perhaps rather ON persn. *Kali*, m. Cf. Lindkv., 218.
- Caltofts, settlement, Reddenhal with Harleston, Norf. < ON persn. *Kali*, m.? Cf. Holmb., 222.
- Canion toft, Benniworth, Lincs. 1221 K fol. 28b *Canion toft*. < ME *canoun* 'a clergyman living under canon rule' or a surname derived therefrom. Cf. Hald 1930, 298.
- Capetoft, Yorks. 12th c. Rievaulx Ch. *Capetoft*. < ME *kape*, *cape* 'a cape, cloak'. Cf. Lindkv., 218.
- Coketoft, Eastoft, Lincs. 13th c. Selby Ch. *Coketoft*. < ME *cōk* 'cook', or its derived byn. *Cōk*, m. Cf. Lindkv., 219.
- Collingtoft, Yorks. 1367 Calv. Ch. *Collingtoft*. < ON patron. **Kollingr*, m., or rather OE patron. *Colling*, m. Cf. Lindkv., 218.
- Cotemannestoft†, near Scalby?, YNR. ME *cotman* 'a cottager'. Cf. Lindkv., 219.
- Doadetoft, f.n., Sproxton, Lei. late 12th c. *Doade Toft*. < Prob. OE persn. *Dodda*. Cf. EPNS 78.247-48.
- Eastoft, parish, Lincs. & YWR. c.1200 *Esketoft*, 13th c. *Esktoft*. < ON *eski*, collective noun of ON *askr*, m., 'an ash-tree' m. Cf. Lindkv., 215.
- Edgson Toft, f.n., Wymondham, Lei. 1729 *Edgson Toft*. < local variant *Edgson* of nearby pn. *Egleton*. Cf. EPNS 78.303.
- Edmundtoft, f.n., YWR. 1488 *Edmundtoft*. < OE persn. *Ēadmund*, m. Cf. EPNS 37.256.
- Edwinestofta, f.n., Norf. < OE persn. *Ēadwine*, m. Cf. Lindkv., 214.
- Eltofts, Thorner, YWR. 1285-1316 *Eltofts*. < Poss. ON persn. *Ellī*, m./OE persn. *Ēella*, *Ēelli*. Cf. Lindkv., 214 & SPNLY.77.
- Elvinetoft†, Huttoft?, Lincs. 1314 Ch.R. *Elvinetoft*. < OE persn. *Elwyne*, m. Cf. Lindkv., 214.
- Emmetoft, Benniworth, Lincs. Sl. 12th c. K fol. 27b *Emmetoftum*. < Poss. ODa persn. *Immi*, m. (with Anglo-Norman /e/ for ME /i/) Cf. Hald 1930, 298.

- Ermostoft, f.n., Warw. 1216-72 *Ermostoft*. < ON persn. in *Arn-* ? Cf. EPNS 13.333.
- Eshetoftes, f.n., YWR. 1158-67 *Eshetoftes*. < OE *æsc*, m., 'an ash-tree'. Cf. EPNS 37.256.
- Ethstanestoft, f.n., Norf. < OE persn. *Ēadstān*, m. Cf. Lindkv., 214.
- Eyrichtoftis, f.n., Wigtoft, Lincs. 1316 Ch.R. *Eyrichtoftis*. < ON persn. *Eiríkr*, m. Cf. Lindkv., 212.
- Flotemanestoft†, near Wolterton?, Norf. 1195 Feet of Fines *Flotemanestoft*. < ME persn. *Floteman*. Cf. Lindkv., 215.
- Forestoftes, Cumberland. 1242 *Fortoftis*, 1243 P. Pipe R. *Forestoftes*. < uncertain. Cf. Lindkv., 218.
- Gangetoft, Lincs. 1242 Li.Rec. *Gangetoft*. < OE *gang*/ON *gangr*, m., 'way, path, passage'. Cf. Lindkv., 215.
- Geradestoft, f.n., Nott. 1304 *Geradestoft*. < OF persn. *Gerat*, *Girat*, m. Cf. EPNS 17.291.
- Germayntoft, Swineshead, Lincs. 1316 Ch.R. *Germayntoft*. < OF persn. *Germaine*, m. Cf. Lindkv., 215.
- Gildetoft, Crowle, Lincs. 13th c. Selby ch. *Gildetoft*. < ODa *gild*, m. 'a guild, confraternity'. Cf. Lindkv., 215.
- Gildetoft, f.n., Nott. 1236 *Gildetoft*. < ODa *gild*, f., 'a guild confraternity'. Cf. EPNS 17.291 for alternative interpretation.
- Gildhustoft, f.n., Holmpton, YER. 1307 *Gildhustoft*. < ON *gildihús*, n. 'a guild hall'. Cf. EPNS 14.324.
- Gildhustoft, f.n., YWR. 1158-67 *Gildhustoft*. < ON *gildihús*, n., 'a guildhouse'. Cf. EPNS 37.256.
- Gildhustoftes, f.n., near Hinderwell, YNR. 13th c. Whitby Ch. *Gildhustoftes*. < ON *gildihús*, n. 'a guild hall'. Cf. EPNS 5.25.
- Gilletoft, f.n., YWR. 1439 *Gilletoft*. < ON persn. *Gilli*, m. Cf. EPNS 37.256.
- Giltoftes, f.n., Westmorl. < ON persn. *Gilli*, m., or OIr *Gilla*, m. Cf. EPNS 43.293, 315.
- Ginaltoftes, f.n., YER. 12th c. *Ginaltoftes*. < ME *ginnel* 'a narrow lane' Cf. EPNS 14.329.
- Gippetoft, f.n., Stainton-by-Langworth, Lincs. c.1242 in *Gippetoft*. < ON persn. **Gippi*, m.? Cf. Lindkv., 216 & SPNLY.101.
- Gippetoft, f.n., Swineshead, Lincs. c.1316 in *Gippetoft*. < ON persn. **Gippi*, m.? Cf. Lindkv., 216 & SPNLY.354.
- Girthetoft, f.n., Swineshead, Lincs. 1316 Ch.R. *Girthetoft*, *Girdestoft*. < ON persn. *Gyrðr*, m. Cf. Lindkv., 216. SPNLY.120.
- Goldentoft Lane, Swineshead, Lincs. 1272-1307 in *Gonyldtoft*. < ON persn. *Gunnhildr*, f. Cf. SPNLY.114.

- Goldetoft, Cockerington, Lincs. 13th c. A fol. 85b *Goldecroft*, 14th c. A fol. 79a *Goldetoft* < OE persn. *Golda*, m. Cf. Hald 1930, 299.
- Goukestoft, f.n., Holland, Lincs. 1331 *Goukistoft*. < ON byn. *Gaukr*, m. or poss. ON *gaukr*, m., 'a cockoo' Cf. SPNLY.96.
- Great Tofts, f.n., Wymondham, Lei. 1753 *Great Tofts*. < MnE *great*, adj. Cf. EPNS 78.302.
- Grimbaldstoft, f.n., Northants. 1246 *Grimbaldstoft*. < ContGerm persn. *Grimbeald*, m. Cf. EPNS 10.290.
- Grimestoft, f.n., Habrough, Lincs. 12th c. in *Grimestoft*. < ON persn. *Grímr*, m. Cf. SPNLY.105.
- Grimstoft, f.n., Holland, Lincs. 12th–14th c. in *Grimstoft*. < ON persn. *Grímr*, m. Cf. SPNLY.105.
- Grisetoft, f.n., Norf. < ON *gríss*, m., 'a pig'. Cf. Lindkv., 216.
- Gudlokestoft, f.n., Burton Lazars, Burton and Dalby, Lei. Middle and late 13th c. *Gudelokestoft*, 1335 *Guddelokescroft*. < OE persn. *Gūðlāc*, m. Cf. EPNS 78.73.
- Gunewate toft, f.n., Kirmington, Lincs. c.1160 in *Gunewatetoft*, *le toft Gunewate*. < ON persn. *Gunnhvatr*, m./**Gunnhvati*, m. Cf. Lindkv., 216 & SPNLY.116.
- Gunnetoft, f.n., Holland, Lincs. 12th–14th c. in *Gunnetoft*. < ON persn. *Gunni*, m./*Gunna*, f. Cf. Lindkv., 216 & SPNLY.117.
- Gunnetoft, f.n.?, Wigtoft, Lincs. 1316 Ch.R. *Gunnetoft*. < ON persn. *Gunni*, m./*Gunna*, f. Cf. Lindkv., 216.
- Habertoft, hamlet, Willoughby with Sloothby, Lincs. 1166 P *Halbertoft*. < ON persn. *Hallbjörn*, m. Cf. Cameron 1998, 56.
- Hafketelestofta, f.n., Norf. < ON persn. *Hafketill*, m. Cf. Lindkv., 216.
- Haldantoft, Snelland, Lincs. 12th c. K fol. 117a *Haldantoft*, *Aldantofte*. < ON persn. *Hálfðan*, m. Cf. Hald 1930, 299.
- Haltoft End, hamlet, Freiston, Lincs. c.1180 Dane *Halketoft*, 1202 Li.Rec. *Halketoft*. < Prob. ME *halke* 'a corner'. Cf. Cameron 1998, 57.
- Handtoftgate, f.n., Holland, Lincs. 12th–14th c. in *Handtoftgate*. < ON persn. *Handi*, m. Cf. Lindkv., 216 & SPNLY.132.
- Harby Tofts, f.n., Strathern, Lei. 1605 *Harbie toftes*. < Nearby pn. *Harby*. Cf. EPNS 78.264.
- Hardemetetoft, Kirton, Lincs. 1316 Ch.R. *Hardemetetoft*. < ME *hard mete* 'hard-meat, corn and hay used as fodder, as opposed to grass'. Cf. Lindkv., 217.
- Hardstoft, Hamlet, Auld Hucknall, Derbs. 1086 *Hertestaf*, 1257 F.F. *Hertistoft*. < ME *hert*, OE *heort*, m., 'a stag' or poss. ON persn. *Hjörtr*, m.? Cf. SSNEM.149.

- Harewardtoft, Ingoldmells, Lincs. 1422 CRI *Hareward-toft*. < ON persn. *Hervarðr*, m./OSw *Hærwardh*, m. Cf. Hald 1930, 299.
- Hartoft, parish, YNR. 1316 Vill. *Haretoft*. < Prob ON *hari*, m., 'a hare', here used as a byname? Cf. EPNS 5.79.
- Hathentoft, Cockerington, Lincs. 12th c. A fol. 13b *Hathentoft*. < ON *haðna*, f., 'young female goat'. Cf. Hald 1930, 299.
- Havertop Lane, Normanton, YWR. 1684 Glebe *Havertoft*, *Havertofts*. < ON *hafri*, m., 'oats'. Cf. EPNS 31.122.
- Heathertofts, f.n., YWR. < MnE *heather*. Cf. EPNS 37.256.
- Hertistoft, Lei.? 12th c. *Hertistoft*. < ME *hert*, OE *heort*, m., 'a stag', or poss. ON persn. *Hjörtr*, m. Cf. Lindkv. 217.
- Herwardtoft, f.n., Holland, Lincs. 1316 Ch.R. *Herwardtoft*. < ON persn. *Hervarðr*, m. or OE persn. **Hereward*, m. Cf. Lindkv., 217 & SPNLY.140.
- Hibaldestofte, near Cawood, YWR. 963 (1352 Selby Ch.) *Hibaldes tofte*. < OE persn. *Hygebald*, m. Cf. Lindkv., 217.
- Hibbottoft, f.n., YWR. 1316 *Hibbottoft*. < ME persn. *Ibbota*, f. Cf. EPNS 37.256.
- Hiptoft Hall, Frieston, Lincs. 1316 Ch.R. *Hippetoft*. < Prob. OE *hype*, f., 'a hip'. Cf. Lindkv., 217.
- Hiptoft, farm, Wisbech St. Mary, Cambs. [1285 Ass *Gilbert de Hyppetofte*], 1474 *Hiptoftes*. < Prob. OE *hype*, f., 'a hip'. Cf. EPNS 19.294.
- Horningtoft, parish, Norf. DB 1086 *Horningetoft*. < Eng. pn. *Horning*, m. Cf. Lindkv., 217.
- Houndystofte, f.n., Ickleton, Cambs. 1483 *Houndystofte*. < OE persn. *Hund*, m./ON persn. *Hundr*, m., or perhaps rather ON *hundr*, m./OE *hund*, m. 'a dog'. Cf. EPNS 19.xx.
- Hulchetofte, nr. Grainsby?, Lincs. 1154-89 DD *Hulchetofte*. < ODa byname. *Ulki*, m. Cf. Hald 1930, 299.
- Humbletoft House, Gressenhall, Norf. < Poss. ON *humli*, m. 'hops'. Cf. Holmb., 222.
- Hundestoft, near Bawdsey?, Suff. 1086? Inq El *Hundestoft*. < ON persn. *Hundr*, m./OE persn. *Hund*, m., or perhaps rather ON *hundr*, m./OE *hund*, m. 'a dog'. Cf. Lindkv., 217.
- Hundestoft, Sherbourne, Glou. 12th c. *Hundestoft*. < ON persn. *Hundr*, m./OE persn. *Hund*, m., or perhaps rather ON *hundr*, m./OE *hund*, m. 'a dog'. Cf. EPNS 38.205.
- Hunemantoft, Dalby, Lincs. Sl. 12th c. K fol. 15a/15b *Hunemantoft*, *toftum quod fuit Hunemanni*. < ME persn. *Huneman*, m. (Prob. < ODa occup. byn. *hund(e)man*, m. 'one who minds dogs'). Cf. Hald 1930, 300.
- Hunlouetoft, f.n., Swineshead, Lincs. 1316 Ch.R. *Hunlouetoft*. < ON persn.

Óláfr, m. Cf. Lindkv., 217 & SPNLY.204.

Huttoft, parish, Lincs. 1086 DB *Hotot*. < ON *hór*, *hár*, adj. 'high'. Cf.

Lindkv., 218, also Cameron 1998, 68, for alternative interpretation.

Ingoldtoft, Lincs. < ON persn. *Ingjaldr*, m. Cf. Lindkv., 212.

Jenkintoftes, f.n., YWR. 1661 *Jenkintoftes*. < ME persn. *Jenkin*, m. Cf. EPNS 37.256.

Karl Toft, f.n., Westmorl. 1179 *Karl toft*. < ON *karl*, m., 'a free man, free peasant'. Cf. EPNS 43.293.

Kingestoftes, York, YER. 1227 Close Rolls *Kingestoftes*. < ME *kinge* 'a king'. Now called Toft Green.

Kinnemannestoft, f.n., Norf. < OE *kynnesman*, m., 'a kinsman'. Cf. Lindkv., 218.

Kiptoftesic, f.n., near Pickering, YNR. < Poss. OWSc *kippi*, n./*kippa*, f., 'a sheaf, bundle'? Cf. Lindkv., 72, 218.

Kirketoftes, Cockerington, Lincs. 13th c. A fol. 64b *Kirketoftes*, *Kirketoftthil*. < ON *kirkja*, f., 'a church'. Cf. Hald 1930, 300.

Kirketoftes, f.n., YWR. 1365 *Kirketoftes*, *Kyrketoftes*. < ON *kirkja*, f., 'a church'. Cf. EPNS 37.256.

Knaptoft, parish, Lei. 1086 DB *Cnapetot*, 1156 (1318) Ch *Cnapetoft*, 1284 Feudal Aids *Knapetoft*. < ON *knapi*, m., 'male servant, valet' or OE *Cnapa/cnapa*, m. 'a young man, servant, menial'. Cf. Holmb. 219 & PNLeiR 451-52.

Knocking Tofts, Brough, Westmorl. 1710, 1734 *Nuckin tofts*, *Nucking tofts*, 1771 *Nuckentoft end*. < poss. OIr persn. *Cnocán* (< Ir *cnoc* 'hill'). Cf. EPNS 43.66.

Kyrketoftes, f.n., Westmorl. 1179 *Kyrketoftes*. < ON *kirkja*, f., 'a church'. Cf. EPNS 43.293.

Ladhetoftes, Cockerington, Lincs. 13th c. A fol. 79a *Ladhetoftes*. < ON *laða*, f., 'a barn'. Cf. Hald 1930, 300.

Langtoft, parish, Lincs. 1086 *Langetof*. < ON *langr*, adj., 'long'. Cf. EPNS 14.97, Cameron 1998, 77 & SSNEM.149.

Langtoft, parish, YER. 1086 DB *Langetou*, *Langhetov*, 1164-70 Reg.Alb. *Langetof*. < ON *langr*, adj. 'long'. Cf. EPNS 14.96 & SSNY.87.

Lefhenadtoftes, Ormesby, YNR. 13th c. Guisbrough Ch. *Lefhenadtoftes*. < ME persn. *Levenath*, m. Cf. Lindkv., 219.

Levyngtoft, near High Burnham, Lincs. 1327 Cat.A.D. *Levyngtoft*. < Perhaps OE persn. *Leofing*, m. Cf. Lindkv., 219, for an alternative interpretation.

Lewyngtoft, Asperton, Lincs. 1316 Ch.R. *Lewyngtoft*. < ME persn. *Lewin*, m. Cf. Lindkv., 219.

Little Tofts, f.n., Wymondham, Lei. 1601 *Litell Toft*, 1753 *Little Tofts*. < MnE

- little*, adj. Cf. EPNS 78.302-03.
- Long Tofts, f.n., YWR. < MnE *long*, adj. (or older ON *langr*/OE *lang*?) 'long'. Cf. EPNS 37.256.
- Longtoftes, f.n., Barton, Cambs. 1463 *Longtoftes*. < ME *long*, adj. Cf. EPNS 19.xx.
- Lowestoft, town, Suff. 1086 DB *Lothu Wistoft*, 1212 Fees *Lothewistoft*. < ON persn. *Hloðvér*, m.
- Martin Top, YWR. < OF persn. *Martin*, m. Cf. EPNS 37.256.
- Mid Toft, f.n., Pickwell, Somersby, Lei. late 1625 *The mid tofthe*. < ON *miðr*/OE *midd*, adj. 'middle'. Cf. EPNS 78.244.
- Mideltoft, Fleet, Lincs. 1316 TF *Mideltoft*. < OE *middel*, adj., 'middle'. Cf. Hald 1930, 300.
- Milnetoft, f.n., Nott. 1269 *Milnetoft*. < ON *mylna*, f., 'a mill'. Cf. EPNS 17.291.
- Miratoft, Alvingham, Lincs. Sl. 12th c. K fol. 11a *Mirecroft*, 13th c. A fol. 13a *Miratoft*. < ON *myrr*, f., 'a mire, bog'. Cf. Hald 1930, 300.
- Modewenestoft, Pinchbeck, Lincs. 12th c. (?) Cr fol. 66b *Modewenestoft*. < OE persn. *Modwine*, m. Cf. Hald 1930, 300.
- Mortoft, Heydon, Norf. DB 1086 *Mortoft*. < OE *mōr*, m., 'moor, waste and damp land'. Cf. Lindkv., 220.
- Morwantoft, Winthorpe, Lincs. 1226 FC I *Morwantoft*. < ME persn. *Mourant*, m. Cf. Hald 1930, 300.
- Naggetoft, f.n., YWR. 1395 *Naggetoft*. < ME *nagge* 'nag'. Cf. EPNS 37.256.
- Natoft, Ashby, Lincs. 1210-11 FC I *Natoft*. < ODa comp. appellative **natoft*, f., 'a toft near the house'. Cf. Hald 1930, 301.
- Neucumentoftes, f.n., Westmorl. 13th c. *Neucumentoftes*. < ME byn. *Neucumen* 'a newly arrived stranger'. Cf. EPNS 43.293.
- North Tofts†, Hatfield, YWR. 1539 Hnt. *Nortoft*, 1615 Comm65 *Northtoftes*, *Northtofts*. < OE *norð*/ON *norðr*, adv., 'north' Cf. EPNS 30.10.
- Northtoft, f.n., YWR. 1483 *Northtoft*. < OE *norð*/ON *norðr*, adv., 'north'. Cf. EPNS 37.256.
- Northtoft, Stallingborough, Lincs. 13th c. Selby Ch. *Northtoft*. < OE *norð*/ON *norðr*, adv., 'north'. Cf. Lindkv., 220.
- Nortoft Grange, Guildsborough, Northants. 1086 DB *Nortot*, 1157 P *Nortoft*, *Northtoft*. < OE *norð*/ON *norðr*, adv., 'north'. Cf. EPNS 10.71 & SSNEM.149.
- Nortofts, farm, Finchingfield, Esx. [1230 *William de Nortoft*], 1375 *Nortoftes*. < OE *norð*/ON *norðr*, adv., 'north'. Cf. EPNS 12.427
- Offichestoft, f.n., Norf. < perhaps OE persn. *Osríc*, m.? Cf. Lindkv., 220.
- Oretoftes, Ormesby, YNR. 13th c. Guisbrough Ch. *Oretoftes*. < Prob. ON

- persn. *Ári*, m. Cf. Lindkv., 221.
- Osebernestoft, Beds. 1313 *Osebernestoft*. < ON persn. *Ásbjörn*, m. Cf. EPNS 3.300.
- Osgotoft, f.n., Nott. 1269 *Osgotoft*. < ON persn. *Ásgautr*, m. Cf. EPNS 17.291.
- Osgottoftes, Stallingborough, Lincs. 13th c. Selby Ch. *Osgottoftes*. < ON persn. *Ásgautr*, m. Cf. Lindkv., 221.
- Oxintoftes, Ormesby, YNR. 13th c. Guisbrough Ch. *Oxintoftes*. < gen. pl. of ME *oxe* 'an ox'. Cf. Lindkv., 221.
- Philipoft, Garstang, Lancs. 1241 *Philipoft*. < OF *Philip*, m. Cf. Lindkv., 221.
- Piggestoft, f.n., Norf. < ME *pyg*, *pigge*, m., 'a piglet'. Cf. Lindkv., 221.
- Plungar Tofts, f.n., Strathern, Lei. 1284 *Plungerthetoftes*. < Nearby pn. *Plungar*. Cf. EPNS 78.265.
- Poplestoft, f.n., Scalford, Lei. late 12th c. *Poplestoft*. < OE *popel*, 'a pebble', or perhaps rather a derived byn. *Popel*, m. Cf. EPNS 78.216.
- Pulinstoft, Ingoldsmells, Lincs. 1422 CRI *Pulinstoft*. < OF byn. *Pulayn*, m. Cf. Hald 1930, 301.
- Raventoft, f.n. Holland, Lincs. 1310. *Raventoft*. < ON *hrafn*, m., 'a raven'. Cf. Lindkv., 221 & SPNLY.210.
- Raventofts House, Bishop Thornton, Lower Claro, YWR. 1368 *Raventofts*. < ON *hrafn*, m., 'a raven'. Cf. Lindkv., 221 & SPNLY.210.
- Ravestoft, f.n., Faldingsworth, Lincs. 13th c. Bullington Ch. *Rafnestoft*. < ON persn. *Hrafn*, m., or bird designation *hrafn*, m., 'a raven'. Cf. Lindkv., 221 & SPNLY.210.
- Renildtoft, f.n. Holland, Lincs. 12th-14th c. *Renildtoft*. < ON persn. *Ragnhildr*, f. Cf. SPNLY.213-14.
- Robbetoft, Alvingham, Lincs. 13th c. A fol. 21a *Robbetoft*. < poss. the rare ON persn. *Robbi*, m. Cf. Hald 1930, 301.
- Rudd Toft, f.n., Westmorl. < The local surname *Rudd*. Cf. EPNS 43.67.
- Sabinetoft, f.n., Nott. 1235 *Sabinetoft*. < OF persn. *Sabina*, f. Cf. EPNS 17.291.
- Saintoft, Pickering, YNR. 1335 P *Centoftdikes*. < OE *sænget* 'burnt'. Cf. EPNS 5.25.
- Saintofts, Warter, YER. Early 12th c. *Sintoftes*. < OE *sænget* 'burnt'. Cf. EPNS 14.172.
- Sakertoft, f.n., Broughton and Old Dalby, Lei. c.1268 *Sakertoft*, *Sacirtoft*, *Sakirtoft*. < ME occup. persn. *Saker* 'sackmaker'. Cf. EPNS 78.49.
- Sandtoft, hamlet, Beltoft, Lincs. 1189 Ch.R. *Sandtoft*. < ON *sandr*, m./OE *sand*, n., 'sand'. Cf. Lindkv., 221.
- Scraptoft, parish, Lei. 1043 Thorpe Dipl. *Scrapetoft*, 1086 DB *Scrapentot*.

- < Prob. metathesed form of ON *skarpr*, adj., 'sharp and infertile (land)', or poss. ON persn. *Skrápi/Skrápr*, m. Cf. PNLeiR 249-50 & SSNEM.149.
- Scultofts, f.n. Holland, Lincs. 12th-14th c. *Scultofts*. < ON persn. *Skúli*, m. Cf. SPNLY.254.
- Schipnetophth, Sutton le Marsh, Lincs. 13th c. B fol. 145b *Schipnetophth*. < Prob. ODa *skipæn*, n., 'military district'. Cf. Hald 1930, 301.
- Sibbertoft, parish, Northants. 1086 DB *Sibertod*, 11th c. Survey *Sibertoft*. < ON persn. *Sighjörn*, m. or OE persn. *Sigebeorth*, m. Cf. EPNS 10.121 & SSNEM.149.
- Skertoftis, Strickland, Westmorl. 1234 Wetherhal Reg. *Skertoftis*. < ON *sker*, m., 'rock, skerry'. Cf. Lindkv., 218.
- Slatofta, f.n., nr. Woodhall, Lincs. Sl. 1154-89 DD *Slatofta*, 1196-98 DD *Slatoft*. < ON *slá*, vb., 'to cut, hit', probably a toft on which grass is cut. Cf. Hald 1930, 301.
- Smythetoft, Swineshead, Lincs. 1316 Ch.R. *Smythestoft*. < Either ON *smiðr*, m., 'a blacksmith' or ON *smiðja*, f., 'a smithy'. Cf. Lindkv., 222.
- Stantoft, Wangle, Lincs. 13th K fol. 188a, 189a *Stantofth*, *Stantoft*. < OE *stān*, m., 'a stone'. Cf. Hald 1930, 301.
- Staynetoft, f.n., YWR. 1483 *Staynetoft*. < ON *steinn*, m., 'a (standing) stone'. Cf. EPNS 37.256.
- Stowlangtoft, parish, Suff. 1086 DB *Stou*, early 13th c. *Langetot*, 1265 Suff.Fines *Stowe Langetot*, 1346 FA *Stowelangetot*. < Cf. *Langtoft*, above. Cf. Lindkv., 222.
- Suthtoft, Stallingborough, Lincs. 13th c. Selby Ch. *Suthtoft*. < ON *suðr*, adv./OE *sūð*, adv., 'south'. Cf. Lindkv., 222.
- Sutton Toft, f.n., YWR. 1341 *Sutton toft*. < parish name *Sutton*. Cf. EPNS 37.256.
- Sywardtoft, f.n., Frampton, Lincs. c.1242 in *Sywardtoft*. < ON persn. *Sigvarðr*, m. Cf. Lindkv., 216 & SPNLY.101.
- Thebeltoft, f.n., Wymondham, Lei. [1242 Fees *terra de Henrii de Thebeltoft*, *Henricus de tybetoft*] < OF persn. *Theobald*, *Tibaut*, m. Cf. EPNS 78.297.
- Thrintoft, parish, YNR. 1086 DB *Thirnetofte*. < ON *þyrnir*, m., 'thorn bushes'. Cf. EPNS 5.25.
- Tipetoft, near Tibthorpe, YER. c.1271 C.Inq. *Tipetofte*, 1334 Rot.Orig. *Tibbetoft*. < Poss. ME persn. **Tibe*, *Tibbe*, m. Cf. Lindkv., 222.
- Tiptoft, farm, Wimbish, Esx. [1346 *John Tippetoft*], 1403 Pat. *Typtotes*, 1434 Ct. *Typpetoftes*. < Poss. ME persn. *Tibbe*, m. Cf. EPNS 12.547.
- Tofto Swengulf†, near Stowlangtoft?, Suff. 1198 Feet of Fines *Tofto Swengulf*. < Prob. ON persn. *Sveinolf*, m. Cf. Lindkv., 211.
- Tofts Hill, Swinden, YWR. 1848 TA *Near Tofts*. < MnE *near*. Cf. EPNS

35.126.

Tofts, Bradfield, YWR. 1613 SheffMan *le Nether Tofte*, 1817 M *Under Toffs*.

< OE *nithera*/ON *neðri*, comp. adj., 'lower (of two)'. Cf. EPNS 30.240.

Toletoftes, f.n. Skidbrooke, Lincs. 14th c. *Toletoftes*. < ON persn. *Tóli*, m. Cf. SPNLY.289.

Totetoft, f.n. Surfleet, Lincs. 1200 *Totetoft*. < ON persn. *Tóti*, m. Cf. SPNLY.291.

Udorsoft, f.n., Norf. < ME persn. *Udarus*, m. Cf. Lindkv., 222.

Ulvestoft, f.n., Norf. < ME persn. *Ulf*, m. (< ON persn. *Ulfr*, m.) Cf. Lindkv., 222.

Watkin's Tofts, f.n., Wymondham, Lei. 1729 *Stephen Watkins Toft*, 1753 *Watkin's Tofts*. < Persn. *Stephen Watkin*. Cf. EPNS 78.302.

Welle Tofte, f.n., YWR. < OE *wella*, 'a well, spring'. Cf. EPNS 37.256.

Werkhustoft, Eastoft, Lincs. 1263 Selby Ch. *Werkhustoft*. < ON *verkhús*, m., 'a work-house, e.g. a smithy'. Cf. Lindkv., 223.

Westoff Lane, South Hiendley, YWR. 1841 TA *Westoft*. < MnE *west*, adv., 'west'. Cf. EPNS 30.272.

Whartop Grange, house, Isley, Lei. c.1115 Chet *Wauertot*, c.1155 (1329) *Wavercroft*, 1221 Berkeley *Wavertofte*. < OE pn. *The Waver* (river name < OE *wæfre*, adj. 'unstable, restless, wandering', or OE **wæfer*, sb., 'that which wanders'). Cf. PNLeiR 368.

Wibtoft, parish, Warw. [1002-04] *æt Wibbetofte*, 1086 DB *Wibetot*. < Sc persn. *Vibbi*, m., or OE persn. *Wibba*. Cf. EPNS 13.xxi, 120 & SSNEM.150.

Wigtoft, parish, Lincs. 1163-81 Ch.R. *Wiketofte*, 1180 P *Wigetoft*. < ON *vík*, m., 'a small creek, inlet, bay'. Wigtoft is situated near Bicker Haven, earlier an inlet of the sea. Cf. Cameron 1998, 138.

Wilegtoft, Thurlby, Lincs. < OE *wilig*, *welig*, m., 'a willow'. Cf. Lindkv., 223.

Willtoft, Bubwith, YER. 1086 DB *Wilgetot*, 1190 P *Wilgetoft*. < ME *wilghe* 'a willow'. Cf. EPNS 14.242.

Willowes Tofte, f.n., Wymondham, Lei. 1691 *Willowes Toft*. < Persn. *John Willowe*, found in several local pns. Cf. EPNS 78.305.

Wivetoft, Sherbourne, Glou. 1200 *Wivetoft*. < OE *wifa*, m., 'a woman'? Cf. EPNS 39.177.

Wlstopht, Sutton le Marsh, Lincs. 13th c. B fol. 145b *Wulstopht*. < ON persn. *Ulfr*, m. Cf. Hald 1930, 302.

Yelvertoft, parish, Northants. 1086 DB *Celvrecot*, *Gelvrecote*, *Givertost*, 11th c. *Gelvertoft(e)*, 1235 Fees *Jelvertoft*. < Uncertain might be OE persn. *Ceorlferþ*, m. or OE **Geldfrip*. Cf. EPNS 10.77.